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Fig. 1. Man in full regalia, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

12/ which is certainly not exhaustive, but probably delineates the most essential cultural connections of the group.

● 101 With regard to the nomenclature, for practical reasons [Fig. 1 appears here] the three partial groups closely connected

[13] by cultural uniformity, Ndeni (Nitendi), called Santa Cruz in the narrower sense and located at 165° 55' east, 10° 45' south (1),

1. Joest in Baessler, Neue Südsee-Bilder, p. 370.

with its neighboring small islands, Vanikoro lying southeast of it

[72 cont.]

101 and the Reef Islands (2) lying to the northeast, are included un-

2. Here, too, it seemed advantageous to group them together under this name and to drop the designations "Swallow Islands" and "Duff Islands."

der the name Santa Cruz Islands. Utupua, lying between Vanikoro and Ndeni, which belongs to the group geographically, is little known (3). Tikopia, which is not far to the east, is

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3. Cf. Dillon, Voyage aux iles de la Mer du Sud [Voyage to the South Sea Islands], II, p. 286. Markham, The Cruise of the Rosario, pp. 167 f. Moresby, Discoveries and Surveys, p. 89.

197 completely Polynesian (4). By contrast the very fragmented lan-

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4. Above all, Dillon, pp. 133 ff. Dumont D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, V, pp. 109 ff.

guages of Vanikoro and Ndeni prove to be non-Polynesian, more
144 accurately belonging to the Melanesian group (5), just as physically

5. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages, pp. 486 ff. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 338 ff.; also p. 217. Lesson, "Vanikoro et ses Habitants," Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 f. (With the exception of the anthropological and linguistic data, he gives, on the whole, little that is not found in D'Urville, and what little there is often is somewhat summarily stated.) Cf. also Dalrymple, An historical collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, I, p. 153, and Dillon, pp. 270, 292.

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[73 cont.] 3: Burney, A chronological history of the voyages and discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, II, p. 290. (Burney rarely differs from Dalrymple; I therefore cite him only in such cases).

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Fig. 2. Man with ear, chest, and arm ornaments, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

D'Urville, p. 217. Markham, pp. 66, 140 ff. Joest, Tagebuch [Journal], pp. 54, 81.

[113]

In any case, culturally the Reef Islands cannot at present be separated from Ndeni--later a division of the individual islands may have to be made. Nevertheless, by virtue of their not inconsiderable Polynesian ethnographic elements, they naturally play an important role in the

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[73 cont.]

101 177 181 Polynesian influence on the main island, a role similar to that played in the south by Tikopia for Vanikoro.

Up to now we know little about the Santa Cruz natives psychologically, and that little shows apparently contradictory features, as is customary among primitive peoples. With [74] all their warlike tendencies, the Spaniards found the Ndeni and Reef Islanders true-hearted, and this trait has not entirely disappeared according to more recent reports (1). To be sure, when

1. Dalrymple, pp. 81 ff. Joest in Baessler, p. 379 and elsewhere. Moresby, p. 87.

Dillon says of the Ndeni people that they always approached the ship singing (2), which he apparently views as a sign of cheerful-

2. Dillon, p. 315.

ness and innocence, [Fig. 3 appears here] a religious, superstitious significance of this behavior is not to be wholly ignored (3).

3. Cf. p. 153.

A commercial spirit is very pronounced (4). With regard to

4. Cf. p. 80.

thefts, the observation made elsewhere applies here also, that even European property is safe inside the house, whereas thefts occur in the open (5). According to Joest, there is no such thing

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 372.

as gratitude because nothing is ever given away. The absence of a concept of cruelty to animals is documented by Joest, to whom the natives offered a live plucked chicken for sale (6).

6. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51.

/153 cont./

114 of the planter, Mr. Matthews, for whose hospitality and generous help I wish to express my gratitude here. /154/ Very bad weather and other adverse circumstances prevented me from visiting the neighboring islands, so that I became closely acquainted only with the inhabitants of Graciosa Bay. Therefore the following [160] remarks [unless otherwise indicated] refer only to the population in and around Graciosa Bay, which, however, constitutes the greater part of the population of Nitendi.

121 The following is meant to be no more than a supplement to the excellent work by F. Graebner on the "Völkerkunde der Santa-Cruz-Inseln /Ethnography of the Santa Cruz Islands/," which appeared in the first volume of this publication. Naturally, every traveler sees somewhat different aspects of the culture of the same region, and thus I may be permitted to set down my few new observations which deal almost exclusively with the external life of the natives. I have also purposely refrained from [122] systematically examining the entire literature on the Santa Cruz Islands critically. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the perceptiveness with which Mr. Graebner described a culture which he could, after all, know only from inanimate museum objects and from the literature.

114 Professor G. Thilenius was kind enough to let me use the notes which he made in June, 1898, on his journey through Graciosa Bay. I wish to express my thanks to him here.

My supplementary material is organized on the basis of Graebner's work (1).

1. Besides ethnographical material, a fairly large amount of anthropological material was brought back. This is to be worked up later.

• 101 In accordance with the English sea charts, I prefer to use the name Nitendi rather than Ndeni. The first form seems to be commonly used, and it seems advantageous to adhere to

/154 cont./
101 the official names, as long as there is no reason to call them actually incorrect.

Generalities about the Population (2)

2. [Ethn., I, pp. 73-75.]

161 Today the population of Graciosa Bay is definitely decreasing. Mr. Matthews, who has lived there for seven years, believes that during this /155/ period the number of persons has been reduced by half. He knows a village that upon his arrival was able to furnish about 60 warriors and in 1912 had but two men. The same supposedly had happened in many other villages; I, too, was struck by the fact that between any two inhabited villages today one finds a village in ruins which are not yet old (1).

1. "Both the main and the island appeared to be one continued town" /cited in English/ (Hawkesworth, An account on the voyages for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, I, p. 360). "On the shore, village beside village" (Thilenius, Tagebuch).

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[166] Apparently the last inhabitants of a village move to one of the neighboring villages and let the old village fall into ruins. Nevertheless, one can still designate Graciosa Bay as densely populated. I estimate the number of those living there as 1,000-1,500 souls; in former times the number would have been about 3,000.

361 The shores of the bay are the most densely populated part of Nitendi, for the calm bay offers the coastal dwellers the most favorable conditions of life imaginable. Good-sized settlements are also found on Tumotu and on the west coast of the island, whereas on the other coasts only scattered larger or smaller

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct and indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

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Introduction

Santa Cruz Census

This census is presented, as taken, by village and household. It has been brought up to date as of May 1960. The name appearing at the head of each section (e.g., Pala Village) identifies the village as it appears on the map. Numbers at the top left of each listing identify separate households and correspond to the household numbers on the village plans. The capital letter "A" refers to a senior male, usually the husband, of the household, and "B" to a senior female, usually his wife. "C" refers to the children of "A" and "B", and category "D" to all others who live in this house. All persons living with or attached to this household at the time of enumeration have their names underlined, thus Kengiano.

Estimated ages of persons follow the name in parentheses, thus (33), and the primary descent group affiliation is given in brackets at the right margin after the name, thus [-bū].

Indented under all persons of "A" and "B" designations are given their parents preceded by the abbreviations Fa and Mo and their siblings designated by Sibs, Br, or Si. Following these names is an indication of whether they are dead, (d), or where they are now living. If living a cross-reference is given indicating village and household where they will be found.

When persons of "A" and "B" categories have been married before, a former spouse is indicated by adding a numeral to the letter designation, thus "A1", "A2", "B1", "B2" and so on. Children of each marriage are listed separately under "C" thus, "A1 and B", "A and B1", and so forth. Preceding the name of all persons under "D" is an abbreviation of the significant kinship relation to either of the senior members of that household. If no kin-type designation appears, then that person is included for other than kinship reasons. Abbreviations used here as "Class"—classificatory and "Adop"—adoptive.